HUMAN EVENTS

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Report on Spending: The myth that a popular mandate exists for all-out spending, prevalent since the November elections, now seems to be dissolving, not only under the brass dome of the Capitol in Washington, but in other places too.

For example, Lyndon Johnson, Democratic Senate Leader, talks today of how much money he's going to save the taxpayer and hints that he will cut foreign aid. This is only one of several countenances he presents to the public, but it's a new one.

● In a parallel development, Washington is keenly aware of what's happened in New York state, whence news arrives daily of the troubles of Governor Nelson Rockefeller. Rockefeller boosted the budget and professedly wants to balance it by tossing some painful tax proposals to his legislature. His popularity ebbs daily.

From the vantage point of the Potomac, Rockefeller's posture differs sharply from that of the Governors of two states that flank New York—Connecticut and New Jersey. These states, steered by two clever Democratic pros whose wetted index fingers are always in the wind, show great concern for the taxpayer's dollar. Governor Meyner of New Jersey claims that his budget is an example of "prudent housekeeping—how a state can live within its income." Meanwhile, Governor Ribicoff of Connecticut talks of budget-cutting and eliminating state agencies.

● A significant straw in the wind, as Washington sees it, was a development in New York's Democratic party last week. Rockefeller's election—according to the rules of the game—should have resulted in pushing the Empire State Democrats further to the left. Not so; they have spurned the socialistic "liberals" and reverted to Tammany boss rule. Last week, not only Mayor Wagner, but also ex-Governor Harriman rallied to the support of machine boss Carmine de Sapio. Instead of the left-wingers—Mrs. Roosevelt, Herbert Lehman and Thomas Finletter—running the N.Y. Democratic party, the old-line professional Democrats have obviously seized control. This does not signify any conversion to conservatism, but it does impose a check on the all-out socialistic spenders in the New York party.

● Meanwhile, the Eisenhower Administration cracks down on behalf of economy in the Rural Electrification Administration. This agency has been getting loans from the Treasury at the rate of two per cent, instead of the four per cent or more which the Government has to pay on the open market. This Administration stand impresses conservatives in the Capital—but the antics of Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Flemming certainly do not. This New Dealer in the Ike Administration wants a Federal school-construction program which will cost the taxpayer $2.5 billion over the next 25 years, thus passing the buck to future generations. By spreading the cost over a quarter of a century, and pegging the first payments to begin after the 1960 election, Flemming trickily avoids impinging on the next fiscal year's Budget.

Remarked in the Capital: if Ike wants to cut a clear image of economy, the Flemming caper must go.

Inside Story: HUMAN EVENTS has discovered further details concerning the three-week delay in the burial of two airmen whose bodies were recovered from the crash of an American C-130 in Soviet Armenia last fall. This is the story, as obtained from sources on the Hill:

Originally, officials in the Air Force wanted to hold the burial January 16—the day that Soviet Deputy Premier Mikoyan conferred with Secretary of State Dulles—to dramatize American protest against Soviet atrocities. Owing to the reluctance of appeasement-minded bureaucrats in the State Department, however, the Air Force people decided not to go ahead with the project, and deferred the burial until after Mikoyan's departure. A formal Air Force request, apparently, was never conveyed to State, since appeasement pressures were exerted quickly enough to stop the move in its tracks.

One State Department official phrased the matter this way to Congressman James C. Davis: "There was a feeling in the [State] Department that there would have been unfavorable attendant publicity. Mikoyan's attitude might have been considerably hardened."

This account fills out that relayed in HUMAN EVENTS for February 4, 1959. For further comment, see "Massive Humiliation," by M. Stanton Evans and W. B. Hicks, Jr., in Article Section I of this issue.

Secretary of State: The illness of John Foster Dulles has stirred up lively speculation about a successor, in case the Secretary has to retire. It is known that the White House has considered Herbert Hoover, Jr., among others, as a possibility. Hoover, say many on Capitol Hill, would prove the best of all those mentioned so far to carry on the firm policy of Dulles in dealing with the Soviet Union.

However, HUMAN EVENTS learns that leading Republicans in Congress intend to urge the President to consider ex-Senator William F. Knowland for the job. Dur-

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ing his career in the Senate, the Californian showed unusual courage and steadfastness in fighting the appeasers, both in Congress and in the entourage of the President.

Crusade Against Inflation: Feeling around the Capital is that the Administration must push its drive against inflation by demanding the necessary preliminary—cutting the Budget. Cited as a case in point is the outcome of the latest Treasury refunding operation. To quote an editorial in the staid Baltimore *Sun*, the operation "fell flat on its face."

The Government offered new obligations at a more attractive rate of interest but failed—by nearly $2 billion—in its effort to refinance almost $15 billion. That is, it could not find a sufficient number of buyers of the new obligations to cover the almost $15 billion of old ones. And this happened despite the fact that it offered a more attractive rate of interest. The Government will offer short-term paper to cover the $2 billion, but such action will probably have an inflationary effect.

Hence it is expected that the White House will step up its statements urging reduction of Federal appropriations and will presumably gird itself for the veto of such high-spending measures as the housing and airport construction bills (which have passed the Senate), should they pass the House. Unless the President does so—according to Capitol Hill observers—the dike holding back wild expenditures will be breached.

Michigan's Depression: Amid the discussion of projects for mass production of small autos, one report popped up in the Nation's Capital: that Chrysler will locate its proposed small car plant, not in Michigan, but in Ohio. This comes as added evidence of the declining economic power of the mother state of the motor vehicle, as set forth in "Walter's Boy Soapy: Labor Socialism in Michigan," by Frank C. Hanighen, in HUMAN EVENTS for October 13, 1958.

Now comes Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.), in one of the best of the current Lincoln Day speeches, reciting to Republicans in Saginaw, Michigan, February 9, the sad facts of the flight of industry from the Wolverine State to other areas of the country. "We know that Michigan was the only state in the Middle West," Goldwater said, "one of only two states in the whole Nation, which lost factory jobs between 1950 and 1956. I would remind you again that this was a period of unprecedented economic expansion throughout the Nation. I would remind you again, too, that Michigan's greatest industry—automobiles—was receiving an unheard-of stimulus from a prosperous Nation at the very time jobs were disappearing from the state."

Nor did this exodus, emphasized the Arizonan, spring from an attempt by business to escape paying Michigan's high wages. "The great automobile industry," he said, "is moving out of Michigan to Ohio and Indiana. These are not low-wage states. Ohio, in fact, has the third highest wage level in the United States. I have read that the automobile industry has built 29 new plants in Ohio alone since the war. The industry is certainly not moving to Ohio and Indiana to escape high wages."

The Senator proceeded to point to the cause of the growing Michigan recession. "It is political, not economic. It is not because your state administration is Democrat. It is because the Democrat party in your state is a shell—merely a label—taken over by a special interest. That special interest is the United Automobile Workers. And I am not referring to the rank-and-file union members. I am referring to a few politically ambitious union leaders; men with a socialist background."

These men have brought Michigan, said Goldwater, to a state of bankruptcy. "The executive is asking for new taxes which are estimated to add 38 to 40 millions of dollars in taxes to the burden already carried by business and industry. How many more industries will decide to leave because of this new tax burden, no one can say. The Supreme Court of your state of Michigan is adding its own special kind of nightmare to the businessman. A former UAW organizer, now a Justice of your Supreme Court bench, has just written an opinion which may, in effect, compel industry to finance strikes out of unemployment compensation funds. This is the final touch. To convert the unemployment compensation fund into a strike fund, financed by industry."

But Goldwater perceived daylight ahead. He reminded his Michigan listeners that a courageous GOP gubernatorial candidate, Paul Bagwell, last fall brought out many of these facts and gave Governor Soapy Williams, Reuther's faithful servant, such a hard race that Williams finished at the bottom of his ticket and lost his status as a potential candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1960. Goldwater predicted that Bagwell will run again, and win, two years hence.

The Thaw (Cont.): The Hollywood film colony has for several months been embarrassed by news of traffic, by some movie producers, in contraband scripts—authored by supposedly "blacklisted" Communists, fellow travellers and Fifth Amendment pleaders. George Stevens, president of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, remarked of these backdoor transactions: "I'm appalled by the trade of black market scripts. Shady commerce is dangerous; people who have such dealings are not true to any political philosophy except gain."

The Academy resolved the conflict last week by lifting a two-year ban prohibiting Communists and Fifth Amendment pleaders from being eligible for Oscar awards. Result: Communists and fellow travellers can now come back out in the open and do their work.

"The responsibility," commented movie-TV star Ward Bond, president of the Anti-Communist Motion Picture Alliance, "lies entirely with the producers. All of them who did business with Reds and Fifth Amendment Reds are interested only in the dollar—not in their country."

Labor Front: Drawing fire this week is Senator John F. Kennedy's new "sweetheart" labor bill, S. 505, which the "liberal" Democrats are attempting to promote as an answer to labor-boss abuses. Analysts of the labor scene, however, point out that the Kennedy bill, among other failings (see HUMAN EVENTS for February 11, 1959), neglects the two problems which the McClellan

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Committee—whose work has evoked the demand for reform—cited as the most urgently in need of correction: (1) secondary boycotts, and (2) organizational, or "blackmail," picketing.

On the second of these points, attorney Godfrey Schmidt, court-appointed monitor of the wayward Teamsters Union, recently offered some cogent testimony. "Organizational" picketing is generally conducted by men who not only are not representatives of the employees of the firm under attack, but who do not themselves even work there. It is a form of coercion aimed at employer and worker alike, generally used to achieve organization "from the top down."

Schmidt observed: "If we give lip service and genuine allegiance to the principle that the workers should have a free choice in their bargaining agent, there is no reason why a labor leader, talking with an employer, can, behind the backs of the workers and without even notification to them, arrange for a union shop, or any other kind of union-employer relationship."

In effect, Schmidt pointed out, union bosses promoting "blackmail picketing" simply tell employers, "We will stop it when and if you sign a contract." "Maybe," he said, "it is the fault of the employer for signing it. But that is easily said, because sometimes the picket lines stop all deliveries. . . . "

● Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell made a similar point when appearing before a Senate Labor subcommittee. Testimony at the rackets hearings, he said, "as to the activities of the business agent of Teamster Local 332 in Flint, Michigan, revealed. . . . [that] no attempt was made by the Teamsters to persuade employees to join the union or to have a vote held to determine whether the employees wished to be represented by the union. By use of a picket line or the threat of picketing, employers were forced to recognize Local 332 and hand the bargaining rights of their employees over to hoodlums and racketeers."

● *In contrast to Kennedy's "sweetheart" bill, the Administration's measure, introduced by Senator Goldwater, makes specific provision to counteract the "blackmail" abuse. As digested by Department of Labor lawyers, the Administration bill "would make it an unfair labor practice. . . . for a union, by picketing, to coerce an employer to recognize it as the bargaining representative of its employees. . . . where. . . the union cannot establish the existence of sufficient interest on the part of the employees in having it represent them."*

Education Front: The February issue of *News and Cues*, published by the US Chamber of Commerce, contains a hard-hitting article by Allen P. Burkhardt, School Superintendent for the town of Norfolk, Nebraska, discussing the pitfalls of the Federal-aid-to-school construction movement. Reproduced with the article is an excerpt from Burkhardt's testimony last summer, delivered before a Senate Education subcommittee, recounting some aspects of "Federal control" as they have cropped up in Nebraska.

"If we ever accept aid from Washington," Burkhardt said, "we will have to expect to accept accompanying control. . . . A good example is the field of vocational agriculture and home economics. We receive Federal aid through the state Department of Education. . . . In order to get this money we have to accept and adopt the course of study outlined and specified by the Federal Government . . . We have to permit inspection trips by state employees who receive part of their money from the Federal Government.

"We have to hire teachers whose qualifications are approved by the same groups. We have to send our teachers to conferences designated by those authorities. If we have night classes, they have to be operated according to the rules of the Federal and state departments. In other words, we are perfectly able to work out our own course of study in all other fields, including science, mathematics, English and other technical fields because we don't get any Federal aid—but, because we get Federal aid for agriculture and home economics, we have to accept courses . . . worked out by other people."

Additional copies of this issue of *News and Cues* can be obtained from the Chamber, 1615 H St. NW, Washington 6, D. C. Annual subscription: $1.

Indonesia: The Administration is making arms available to the Indonesian dictatorship of Marxist premier Sukarno—in the form of enough weapons to equip 20 Indonesian Army battalions. Such was the news beamed from Jakarta last week.

This transaction follows in the wake of an anti-Communist uprising in Indonesia last year, which attempted to overthrow Sukarno, and which the US Government refused to aid in any way—as abundant arms were being funneled to the Sukarno regime by the Soviet Union.

Crushing of the anti-Communist revolt has been followed by further leftward movement on the part of Sukarno. The Asian People's Anti-Communist League reported recently that his regime is actively persecuting the 1.5 million Chinese living in Indonesia who refuse to cooperate with the Peiping Communists. Schools, newspapers, theaters, shops and hospitals operated by these Chinese have been closed down by the "guided democracy" of the Indonesian archipelago, and the Chinese have been compelled to register with the Chinese Red embassy in Jakarta.

● A grim footnote to the news of arms shipments to Sukarno is the fact that, since he overthrew Dutch rulership, he has been attempting to wipe out an independent group of islanders—Christian and anti-Communist—who refuse to accept his pro-Communist hegemony. These are the inhabitants of the South Moluccas, an island group containing the famous Spice Islands. This movement has to date received no help from America. But it appears that American arms now may be used by the pro-Communist Sukarno to help suppress his anti-Communist opposition!

It is recalled that the US Government cut off all arms shipments to the Batista regime in Cuba, on the grounds that the weapons were being used against Castro's insurrectionists. Yet the arms deal with Indonesia — HUMAN EVENTS learns from the State Department—specifically states that the equipment shall be used to deal with "internal security" problems, a category which includes the South Moluccan uprising.

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Two Kinds of Democrats: The fundamental split between Northern and Southern Democrats is highlighted by two recent items in the news:

Item 1. In Maryland, where the Democratic party organization is "liberal" and labor-dominated, the heavily Democratic General Assembly convened for its opening session last month. Among the legislators' first official actions: to vote themselves a 50 per cent raise in individual expense allowances, from $20 to $30 per diem. Projected cost to Maryland taxpayers: $136,800 annually. (Under a heavy deluge of protests, the shamefaced legislators subsequently repealed this action.)

Item 2. In Tennessee, Governor Buford Ellington, a staunchly conservative Southern Democrat, declared that he would not accept a suggested raise in his salary, and asked the state legislature to vote the proposal down. The bill, on the verge of passage, would have upped his pay from $12,000 to $18,600 a year. Ellington's comment: "I knew what the Governor's salary was when I ran and it is the salary I propose to draw during my four years in office."

Soviet Economy: *The Indianapolis Star* recently offered a sharp rebuttal to those "liberal" commentators who lament that Soviet communism is surpassing America's free economy in productive capacity. The *Star's* source for its argument: Nikita Khrushchev himself.

Recently, the Star *pointed out, "Khrushchev complained that Soviet collectives use 7.3 times more labor to produce grain, 5.1 times more to grow potatoes, 6.2 times more to produce sugar beets, 14.2 more to produce cattle, and 16.3 times more labor to produce pigs than the United States."*

In the realization that socialism has failed, the commissars are now trying to infuse their system with the principles of capitalism. It would be an irony of history, the *Star* concluded, if the United States were to trade in its free enterprise system for socialism, precisely as the Communists veer back to the economic principles of capitalism. That, the paper said, is the only way in which the Soviets can triumph over us.

Foreign Aid: The Citizens Foreign Aid Committee, (Suite 335, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington 6, D. C.) last week announced its intention to provide "a realistic, painstaking evaluation of foreign aid." This recently formed conservative group, under the chairmanship of Walter Harnischfeger of Milwaukee, sprang from a desire by conservatives that Congress be able to hear both sides on the critical question of foreign aid.

"For years," says the new Committee, "the Administration has brought forth studies in favor of foreign aid, prepared largely by people who have a personal or business interest in the continuity of the program. The President appointed such a committee [see HUMAN EVENTS for December 8, 1958] a few weeks ago and they are now preparing to give Congress and the American people reasons why this apparatus for bureaucratic giveaway should be continued and made perpetual."

After consultation with a number of experts early this month, the Citizens Foreign Aid Committee was formed, and its task force groups are now completing preliminary studies. The Committee proposes to examine, fairly and factually, the scope and impact of our foreign aid program on both the United States and the recipient countries.

Mr. Harnischfeger says: "Our evaluations have already gone far enough to convince me that Congress must call a halt to these ever more lavish outlays, if the country is to be spared the disasters of ruinous inflation."

The Committee includes the following members: T. Coleman Andrews, former Internal Revenue Bureau Commissioner; Hon. Spruille Braden, former Assistant Secretary of State and foreign service diplomat; Hon. Howard Buffett, former Congressman from Nebraska; Robert B. Dresser, Attorney, Providence, R.I.; Hon. J. Bracken Lee, former Governor of Utah; William L. McGrath, Industrialist, Cincinnati, O.; Mrs. Ruth Murray, former member of the GOP State Central Committee of Wisconsin; Henning W. Prentis, Jr., Chairman of the Board, Armstrong Cork Company; Hubbard S. Russell, cattle rancher, California; General Robert E. Wood, former Chairman of the Board, Sears, Roebuck and Co.; General Albert C. Wedemeyer, former US Commander China-Burma Theater, World War II.

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Article Section I

Massive Humiliation

The Story of America's Murdered Aviators

By M. STANTON EVANS *and* W. B. HICKS, JR.

EARLY THIS MONTH, the State Department revealed that it didn't have to guess about the causes behind the crash of a United States Air Force transport plane on the Russo-Turkish border, last September 2; the facts of the incident, which caused the deaths of at least six American fliers, had been known instantly—when a recording was made of the voices of the four Red pilots closing in on a single, lumbering aircraft that was unable to fire back at its killers.

Following the disclosure, a ripple of indignation crossed the usually placid surface of the American press; but the SAC and MATS pilots in the ready-rooms of US air bases around the world may have taken the matter more resignedly—for they have grown used to such things. The loss of 17 American fighting men in this headline-catching episode is only the latest of a long string of such incidents. Here are some of the more recent cases:

In December, 1957, Communist Albania forced down an American jet trainer; the Communists released the pilot, but kept the plane. *In February, 1958,* North Korean Communists hijacked a plane with two Americans aboard. *In June, 1958,* an Army helicopter with nine men aboard was forced down in East Germany; the men were held for six weeks. *In June, 1958,* a US cargo plane was shot down near the Russo-Turkish border; the crewmen were held for ten days. *In June, 1958,* a group of American sailors and marines were kidnapped by Cuban rebels under the command of Fidel Castro. *In November, 1958,* four Red fighters made simulated attacks endangering an American RB-47 (reconnaissance plane) over the Sea of Japan. *In November, 1958,* Soviet fighters fired on another RB-47 over the Baltic seas. *In December, 1958,* an American flier was imprisoned by East Germans after the light plane he was flying crashed in Red territory.

None of these incidents has evoked a reprisal. Through indifference or fear, our Government has tiptoed softly in the presence of the Soviet enemy, allowing American servicemen to be mishandled and killed by Communist regimes. And the trend toward Massive Humiliation has not stopped with the Soviet Union; we also turn our citizens over to foreign courts in allied countries, without recourse to our own Constitution, in the name of good foreign relations. The celebrated Girard case of 1957 served to highlight the fact that the United States has a vast network of "Status of Forces" agreements which consign US servicemen to the mercies of alien systems of justice.

Nowhere has the erosion of American honor been made more plain than in the case of the US servicemen who remain imprisoned, today, behind the bars of Red Chinese jails. While the State Department has sought to focus public attention on US civilians held by the Communists, variously represented as 13, or four, or some other number of that magnitude, US authorities know that the actual number of prisoners is in the hundreds. At the close of the Korean War, a list of captured personnel was submitted to the Reds, along with a demand that they be accounted for. Included were 944 Americans who were known, by various means, to be in Communist hands.

When the Reds defiantly refused to yield up any information about these men, the Administration did nothing to force their return. Instead, trying to persuade the Communists to be more reasonable, the US "unilaterally reduced" the number from 944 to 450—thus arbitrarily consigning 400 American servicemen to the oblivion of Red captivity.

Meanwhile, Administration inaction has also contributed to the work of erasing these men from official memory. As the years elapsed, the "Missing Persons Act" came into effect. Under this law, once enough months have intervened, the bureaucrats are permitted to make a "finding of death" for missing personnel; thus our soldiers are not only abandoned, but are systematically written off as dead and expunged from the lists of the missing.

THE SYSTEM TODAY amounts to this: the soldier is required to be loyal to his country, but his country is not loyal to him. If some civilian bureaucrat finds his well-being inconsistent with international harmony, or with State Department yearnings toward appeasement, then he is simply sacrificed. This renders meaningless the very concept of "citizenship," which is supposed to be a matter of two-way—not one-way—allegiance. (Webster defines a "citizen" as "a person owing allegiance to and entitled to the protection of a sovereign state.")*

All of this stands in stark and incredible contrast to what was once considered respectable behavior for great nations. The protection conferred upon its citizens has always been a rough measure of a country's integrity and power. As the protection declines, so do the other attributes. When St. Paul travelled among foreigners preaching the Christian gospel, his universal protection was the fact that he

* John Noble, an American imprisoned for years in a Soviet slave camp, reports that Communist guards taunted their American prisoners by saying: "If you had a Government in America, they'd get you out."

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was a Roman citizen. No one could mistreat him without having to answer to the Roman government.

Similarly, in the day of its national vigor, the United States was jealous of the rights of its citizens abroad, and considered the treatment accorded them a reflection on its own national honor. At the very ebb of American military strength in the 18th century, at the time of the XYZ affair with France, American pride gave birth to the motto: "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." The weak American nation of the post-revolutionary era would not stand still for unlimited mishandling of its citizens, even by the foremost powers of the world. Thus we fought the War of 1812 to end British "impressment" of our sailors to serve on their ships.

PERHAPS THE MOST famous incident involving American protection of an imprisoned national was that occurring in 1904, when Theodore Roosevelt was President. A Moroccan bandit named Raisuli captured an American citizen, a merchant named Perdicaris, and held him for ransom. The American Consul General in Tangier received a terse note from Washington: " . . . Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead." Perdicaris was released forthwith.

A less famous but equally significant incident involved a man named Martin Koszta, a Hungarian who had fled to America following the 1848 revolt against the Austrian overlordship of Hungary. In America, Koszta had filed a declaration of intention to become an American citizen, and taken out naturalization papers. But on a trip to Turkey in 1853, he was kidnapped and taken aboard an Austrian ship. When his friends appealed to the American authorities, help was instantaneously forthcoming.

An American corvette, the *USS St Louis*, confronted three Austrian warships off Smyrna, Turkey. Captain Duncan Ingraham, commander of the American gunboat, interviewed Koszta on board the Austrian ship, the *Hussar*. Koszta said he had lived in America almost two years, and that he intended to settle there.

"Do you demand the protection of the American flag?" He did. "Then," said Ingraham, "you shall have it."

Ingraham returned to his own ship, and dispatched this note:

> I have been directed by the American *charge* at Constantinople to demand the person of Martin Koszta, a citizen of the United States, taken by force on Turkish soil and now confined on board the brig, *Hussar*, and if a refusal is given to take him by force.
>
> An answer to this demand must be delivered by 4 o'clock p.m.

As the day wore on, the crew of the *St. Louis* made preparations for battle against the three Austrian ships. But at ten minutes of four, a small boat was lowered from the *Hussar*. In it was Martin Koszta.

* * *

With the release of the tape concerning the destruction of our C-130, a sense of shock has spread across the Nation. But why should we be shocked at this performance by the Soviet Union? As the most treacherous nation in recorded history, it is only conforming to its known pattern of behavior. No informed person can be surprised at such a disclosure.

No, the outrage and indignation should be focussed elsewhere—on Washington. *For the important thing about the recent disclosure is that the tape, showing that our fliers were shot down in cold blood, has been in the hands of our State Department ever since the time of the incident early in September.* It was not released until the first week in February, a gap of five months. In the interval, Senator Hubert Humphrey and columnist Walter Lippmann have journeyed to the Kremlin, to imbibe wisdom at Khrushchev's knee. And, in this country, Anastas Mikoyan has come and gone, unembarrassed by public notice of the fact that his Government has fresh American blood on its hands.

That the tape was withheld for the purpose of promoting Mikoyan's peace of mind, and appeasement sentiment along with it, is suggested by reports that are now flying around the Capital. One of them, which was noted in the HUMAN EVENTS News Section for February 4, 1959, involves a similar action by our State Department in connection with the burial, in Arlington National Cemetery, of two of the bodies recovered from the crash.

> **These two airmen were scheduled to be buried, with full military honors, during Mikoyan's visit. But, runs the report, the State Department pressured the Air Force into postponing the ceremonies until after Mikoyan left. Thus, the Soviet official departed without having a distasteful burial spoil his convivial sojourn, and an American wife was allowed to wait three weeks before she could weep over the grave of a charred body she believed to be her husband.**

We have slid a long way from the days of the Founding Fathers, of Martin Koszta, or of Theodore Roosevelt. And before it is too late, we ought to take a long look at ourselves in a mirror supplied by one of America's most ardent lovers of freedom, Robert Ingersoll. "The nation that cannot protect its citizens," Ingersoll said, "at home and abroad, ought to be swept from the map of the world. . . ."

America today must return to the stern imperatives of the first President Roosevelt. "Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead" should be the formula that protects our citizens around the globe.

M. Stanton Evans is the Managing Editor of HUMAN EVENTS.

W. B. Hicks, Jr. served for four years with the United States Air Force in Germany.

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Article Section II

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An Open Letter to Clarence Budington Kelland

How Conservatives Can Combat Economic Illiteracy

By FRED G. CLARK

DEAR BUD: I read your blast against Eisenhower in HUMAN EVENTS (December 22, 1958) and cannot refrain from digging in the ruins of the once-great Republican party in search of bomb fragments which might identify the assassin.

First off, I think we must remember that Eisenhower, like many men before him, was selected as chief of state not for his knowledge of political economy or practical politics, but for his personal popularity and past performance in the fine art of harnessing jealous allies to a common task.

What he didn't know was that his allies, that is the two wings of his party, *had* no common task. The objectives of the Taft-Knowland group and the Morse-Warren group lay in opposite directions. One was headed upstream against the tide while the other was riding with it. One was for what the Nation really needed, the other was for what the Nation *believed* it needed.

This situation was brought into focus by an old friendly opponent of mine, Norman Thomas, when I ran into him at a Town Hall reception given for and by Perle Mesta. "Norman," I said, "do you remember many years ago telling Dick Rimanoczy and me that this country would never vote for socialism as such, but that under the label of 'liberalism,' the people will vote for every fragment of socialism until one day we'll have it?"

He raised his glass and laughed heartily, saying: "Yes, I remember, Fred. I suppose I should have known, but I didn't think then that the Republicans would be going along with it. Ha! Ha! Ha!" There you have it in as terse a tale as could be told.

What he was really saying is one of the oldest truisms: most politicians of any party follow, rather than lead, public opinion. The character of the American people has changed, so the platform of most Republican candidates has changed. But this gets us nowhere until we know *what has changed public opinion.*

The trail leads to the classroom, where, as history tells us, the character of modern nations is formed and the guideposts of citizenship are established. Today we have an educated but economically ignorant electorate coming of age at the rate of some two million each year. And this stream of economic illiteracy has been running for 30 years.

There are two ways of insuring that people are ignorant. One is to teach them *nothing*, and the other is to teach them only those selected facts that will lead them to incorrect conclusions under their own intellectual steam. The latter method is the one we have used. The selected facts that have infected the American mind are those taught in the high schools concerning the sins of our capitalistic economy. These are the assassins of self-reliance in the American character.

Most of these sins are factual, but in the absence of the preponderance of evidence (the undeniable virtues), they lead to only one conclusion—the capitalistic structure must be "brought under control" by Federal legislation and reshaped to meet "the social needs of the common man." Under those circumstances it was not surprising that the Republican party, being identified as "the champion of big business," began to lose its normal quota of new voters.

IT WOULD BE easy enough to blame anti-business education on the teachers, but the charge won't hold water. About ten years ago, with the help of my good friend Reese Taylor, Chairman of Union Oil Company, the American Economic Foundation was able to employ Opinion Research, Inc. to take a poll of teachers on their knowledge of some fundamental aspects of our American production and exchange economy, the results of which were so shocking as to provoke a feature article in *Reader's Digest* by William Hard.

But the teachers were not to blame. The teachers did not write the textbooks or decide to use them. That was done for them. And, regarding the teachers who entered the profession during the last 15 years, most of them were educated with the same type of textbooks. By and large they have a high, if confused, respect for the business community.

It is not even fair to blame the anti-capitalistic authors of the texts, because they probably believed what they wrote, and if that is what the school systems wanted why should they not satisfy the demand? There are two groups that can be blamed for it: 1) the small brain trust of "social architects" who imported from Europe the anti-business blueprint for an "emancipated America"; and 2) the businessmen who stood idly by while the dynamite was being planted under their character and motivations.

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But no lie lives forever and there is encouraging evidence that big things are happening among the new generation of social educators. The following quote is from "The Businessman In American History," an article in the January, 1959, issue of *Social Education*, the official journal of the National Council for the Social Studies:

> As more and more businessmen and corporations give free access to their private papers and records to scholars trained in history, the "robber baron" stereotype may fade into oblivion . . . the effect of most of these studies is to cast the businessman in a new light. The "Masters of Capital" who operated in the "age of big business" were, according to recent studies, more constructive than destructive.

It would seem, therefore, that this particular cultural lag in education regarding business is catching up with reality. And if businessmen are awake, they will see to it that this process is speeded up.

Some people say that the past failure of business to defend itself was based on the cowardice that comes from a guilty conscience, but I believe the truth to be the exact opposite—*I believe that its conscience was so clear that it would not take the attack seriously.* Only a handful of alert leaders such as Howard Pew, Walter Chrysler, Jasper Crane, Ed Hutton, Lewis Brown, Al Smith, Bill Farish, Henning Prentis, John Brown, William Woodward, *etc.*, were aware of the danger and tried to do something about it.

Today, however, practically all of the "social architects" and the then-dominant business executives are either retired or dead, so there is no use blaming them. This leaves only one group—the men now in control of America's $950 billion corporate structure—which can take steps to see that the pure propaganda-free truth about business is taught in our high schools. It will do no good for them to write out checks for conservative candidates (if there are any) when the people, whose votes they *must* get, don't understand conservatism.

THE BEST POLITICAL action they can take is non-political—it is education—and can be done with corporate funds without violating any law that blocks them off from political activity. A small number of corporations are already doing this very effectively.

But every corporation should make an investment in high school classroom education and in the education of the people in its own plants. The in-plant job is easy to do if they go at it right, but the classroom problem cannot be done directly; that must be done by helping the schools, financially, to get the teaching materials they need and want but cannot fit into their budgets. And in the name of common sense, this help should be in no way confused with philanthropy nor should any shortage in the "charity" budget be allowed to interfere.

In an entirely different area, it is encouraging to hear that Eisenhower, now free from political jeopardy, might start a one-man crusade for conservatism that could reach millions of adults. With television at his disposal he could do an electrifying job.

It is fascinating to think what could happen to the American electorate if a majority of the people knew just a handful of self-evident facts which are not taught in our schools, for example:

- The only source of more wealth is not more money but more production.
- *Government cannot give the people anything that it has not first taken from them.*
- Government aid, reduced to reality, is redistribution of production and if too much is taken from the producers they will reduce their production.
- *Inflationary deficit spending, which seems to relieve taxes, is, in fact, the cruelest of all taxes.*
- Inflationary wage increases, except in the very short run, help nobody and injure everybody including those who receive them.
- *Not even the American economy—robust as it is—is immune to ruinous inflation.*
- Neither Government nor business can guarantee employment—*only customers can do that.*
- *Strikes are only partly against capital, they are mainly against the other workers, who must pay the higher prices.*

General knowledge of these fundamentals would knock out the pernicious fallacy, taught in our schools for 30 years, that the interests of capital and labor are in direct conflict and, therefore, irreconcilable. These are the simple, nonpolitical, noncontroversial facts that would, as the saying goes, "elect a Chinaman," if the people knew them and if the candidate was dedicated to them.

If the Republican party expects to elect a man who knows his economics, and will hold the line, it had better start smoothing the intellectual road he is going to have to travel.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

FRED

Fred G. Clark is founder and General Chairman of the American Economic Foundation.

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